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And lightly we deal out human life
 To aid in a nation's greed,
 A toll of thirty thousand lives
 Laid down without thought of need.

And one day's toll! That God's bright sun
 Should rise on such ghastly sight,
 And men who own and bear His name
 Do not rise in their moral might!

Oh, meek and lowly Lord of Peace!
 Whose "blessed" was great for those
 Who sought to bring ease to the nation's strife,
 And an end to human woes,

Help us to earn that great reward
 Which thou hast said will be given,
 Blessed are they who make peace on earth
 "For theirs is the kingdom of Heaven."

Letter of Andrew Carnegie to the Peace Congress.

SKIBO CASTLE, DORNOCH, SUTHERLAND,
 September 27, 1904.

Dear Mr. President:—I much regret missing the meeting of the International Peace Conference. Since we have at last in the Hague Tribunal a permanent High Court for the settlement of international disputes, more and more my thoughts turn upon the next possible and necessary step forward to an agreement by certain powers to prevent appeals to war by civilized nations.

Suppose, for instance, that Britain, France, Germany and America, with such other minor States as would certainly join them, were to take that position, prepared, if defied, to enforce peaceful settlement, the first offender (if there ever were one) being rigorously dealt with, war would at one fell swoop be banished from the earth. For such a result, surely the people of these four countries would be willing to risk much. The risk, however, would be trifling. A strong combination would efface it altogether. I think this one simple plan most likely to commend itself to the intelligent masses. A committee might be formed to consider this. If a body of prominent men of each nation agreed to unite in urging the coöperation of their respective countries in the movement, I think the idea would soon spread.

One cannot imagine for our Republic a prouder position than that of pioneer in such a task—she who has been foremost in urging arbitration, first also to urge five important powers to submit their differences to the Court of Peace. Nor can I imagine more fitting apostles to urge this upon the powers than our present Secretary of State, who is to honor you at the coming meeting in Boston, and our present President, who recently led the powers to The Hague. Having secured a permanent court for the settlement of international disputes, the time seems ripe for the same agencies to consider the one step further needed to complete the work.

Very truly yours, always for peace,

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

Compulsory Arbitration and the Hague Court.

Ex-Ambassador White's Opinion.

Hon. Andrew D. White addressed the following letter, dated Ithaca, N. Y., October 15th, to Hon. Oscar S. Straus of New York, one of the American members of the Hague Tribunal, in response to the latter's invitation that he should be present at the reception in New York to the foreign delegates who attended the International Peace Congress in Boston. The main thought embodied in it is what Mr. White would have urged at the Boston Congress, had it been possible for him to be present.

"The funeral of Governor Cornell, which occurs on the day of your welcoming the delegates to the Peace Congress, and duties connected with laying the cornerstone of the Goldwin Smith Hall of this University, forbid me to accept your very kind invitation. I regret this greatly, and all the more because, while valuing highly the impulse that the recent Congress at Boston has given to earnest thought on the subject of peace, I feel that there may be need of a word of warning.

"You have doubtless noticed that, in sundry recent utterances and publications inspired by horror of war, there occur demands for compulsory arbitration between nations. This I think that all who have given really thoughtful attention to the probabilities and possibilities involved must sincerely regret. Compulsory arbitration would mean vastly larger armies than any the world has ever seen. It would demand a union of all great powers in matters of the greatest moment to each and all of them, matters on which there may be the greatest differences of view and interest; it would require that this union be made speedy and effective, possibly with enormous cost of life and treasure, and in every case with great sacrifices of feelings and prejudices such as thus far in the world's history have never been obtained.

"We have only to imagine an actual attempt to put this doctrine of compulsory arbitration into force to see how utterly impracticable it is, and how dangerous it would be if it were practicable. Take the frightful war now going on between two great powers on the western shores of the Pacific Ocean. What nations could bring an army into the field which would compel a cessation of the contest? Imagine a war (which heaven forbid!) between ourselves and one of our neighbors, or of any continental power with any of its neighbors; what combination of other nations could bring an army which would impose peace upon the combatants? It would certainly be unfortunate if any eloquent lovers of peace should divert attention from voluntary international arbitration and its subsidiary instrumentalities which actually exist to a scheme so impracticable as to bring all advocates of peace into derision.

"The first work to be done is evidently to create a public opinion throughout the world which will make the great mass of mankind in every civilized country a unit in favor of demanding from their respective governments arbitration rather than war. The simple fact, which the world at large does not yet realize, but which it ought to be the first mission of all meetings in behalf of peace to make known, is that an international tribunal of arbitra-

tion exists at this moment; that a full and practicable system has been adopted for its action and maintenance; that judges from the various nations have already been appointed; that its subordinate officers are constantly in session; that suitable quarters are already provided for it; that various subsidiary measures have been adopted to facilitate its work; and that, thanks to an American citizen, this august tribunal will at some day, which we may hope is not very distant, be able to sit in an international palace of justice and temple of peace, built especially for it, worthy of it, suited to its needs, dignified in architecture and surroundings, and standing before the whole world as an outward and visible sign of the most effective means which the world has ever seen for averting war and for maintaining peace—the means which Grotius suggested, and which a long line of the noblest men and women in every century since have longed for and prayed for.

“All peoples under all governments should be made to realize the fact that three different nations have already referred difficult and trying disagreements to this court, and have obtained decisions which have settled the questions at issue and in each case destroyed every germ of ill feeling.

“The various nations should also be made to understand the subsidiary arrangements devised by the Hague Conference for delaying war, for weakening its causes and mitigating its effects.

“The main work of peace congresses and peace conferences should now be to arouse a public opinion throughout the world which will forbid any government to plunge into war without first exhausting the means which this tribunal at The Hague affords for securing peace. There are, indeed, questions supplementary to the principal issue involved which may well be discussed and urged, such as better definitions of ‘contraband of war’ and the like, and especially a doctrine which our country has urged from the beginning of our national existence down to and during the sessions of the Hague Conference, namely, the duty of exempting private property not contraband of war from seizure on the high seas.

“But the first great thing is that governments shall not be allowed by the peoples for whom they act to neglect these new means of peace. It is as possible to create a public opinion which shall absolutely force every government in the world to resort to this tribunal before declaring war as it was possible to create the public opinion throughout the world which ended Algerine piracy, the slave trade, the serf system, and slavery.

“I would urge then, as you welcome the European delegates, and especially Baroness von Suttner, whose noble writings have done so much to arouse a feeling for peace, and whose presence and conversation at The Hague gave so much courage and hope to supporters of arbitration at the Peace Conference, that this main point be not forgotten; in fact, that all efforts be concentrated upon it, and that there shall go forth from this and other meetings of this sort utterances which shall make mankind at large more fully and thoroughly understand what has already been done in the creation of the Hague Tribunal and oblige every government to resort to it, at once, in case of need.

“It is not too much to hope that the frightful example now visible of two great nations each deluging the soil

of Asia with its best blood, and both nearing inevitable bankruptcy, will aid your meeting and similar assemblages elsewhere in bringing to the whole world a knowledge of the Hague Tribunal with all its realities and possibilities.”

Letter to the Peace Congress from Sir John Macdonell of London.

31 KENSINGTON PARK GARDENS, W.

SEPTEMBER 21, 1904.

My dear Mr. Perris: It has for some time been plain to me that I could not, for many reasons, be present at the Congress at Boston. This is very much to my regret. I greatly desired to meet and talk with the workers in the cause of peace in a country where that cause flourishes much more, I believe, than it does with us at present, and which is beset by fewer of the temptations to militarism than the Old World.

No doubt the Congress, where all shades of opinion will be represented, will look at the question from many sides; and I am hopeful that among other matters under consideration one or two points which I have much at heart will not be forgotten. Two of them are, I conceive, of no small practical importance. One of them is the urgent necessity of developing, I might even say creating, a form of literature specially designed to meet the wants of the hour. A literature which may help to counteract in some degree the ceaseless appeals through the eye and ear, by print and picture, to the worst passions; a literature truly pacific in spirit, not sentimental in character, not full of vague generalities, but containing precise details and authentic tests, and presenting in plain language the realities of war; revealing what is behind the soldiers' triumphs, making audible what the blare of trumpets and the shouts of infatuated mobs now drown.

Art and literature, one is of late tempted to think, have deserted the cause of peace and are in a conspiracy against it. Can they be brought back to the side of common sense and humanity? I am not underrating the services rendered by the excellent existing periodicals, or the value of such publications as those issued by the *Bibliothèque Pacifiste Internationale*; but each country needs its own special form of peace literature, and I should be glad to see everywhere organizations for the purpose of disseminating, by books and pamphlets, facts which are now glossed over and kept in the background; a literature with the motto, *écrasons l'infame*—the true *infame* of all time. A carefully prepared volume of extracts from writers of authority descriptive of war as it is—war put to the test of common sense—showing men lowered to the level of wild beasts, every evil passion let loose, and the result, almost always manifestly futile and disappointing, would be useful. I should also like to see a wide circulation of accurate pictorial representations of war as it is, and not in its false, glorified, idealized forms. Copies of some of Verestschagin's vivid pictures of its grim realities would be more convincing than labored arguments or exhortations. In the formation of such an organization I would gladly help.

Another practical point is one of which I have, more than once, talked with you; the need of making the question of peace one much more of practical politics